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Archives of Secrecy: Yoshiko Shimada's Art Project *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets*

Gunhild Borggreen

Introduction

Secrets contain a paradox: all human beings strive to keep and protect secrets, but at the same time they go to great lengths to get to know secrets. The core elements of numerous conflicts among individuals in everyday life as well as on a global geopolitical scale is whether to secure secrecy or to promote openness. Secrets are perceived as part of human beings' private lives, and the boundary between secrecy and privacy is not easily made. Many people form a personal identity based on images and self-perception that are not revealed to anyone. Parts of someone's past may be hidden from others or repressed by the self. Innermost feelings and sentiments are unique to the individual person and are thus defined by concealment. Plans and ideas that someone has for future projects, for example, often remain in secrecy until the plans either become realized or vanish. People will try to guard and protect those aspects of their

private life that they feel are uniquely their own, and in the process of setting these elements apart they become secrets.¹

Many archives are secret. They contain documents or material gathered for specific purposes, and are not open for public scrutiny. The principles for categorization of documents in archives may be intended to be secret and can be decoded only by specialists, or they become secrets as time passes and no one remembers how to decode them. Particular forms need to be filled out and special permission granted to get access to some archives, while other archives will never be opened within our time. Government and military documents are guarded as state secrets, and business enterprises and companies defend rights of confidentiality to secure their trading secrets. Debates flourish concerning the ethics of whistleblowing and concealments in political and corporate arenas. Social media such as Facebook and similar sites invite users to upload images and information on Internet profiles, but it is not always clear under which conditions or how others make use of the information in different contexts. Websites such as Wikileaks have emphasized the complexity of secrecy on a global scale by providing non-profit open source Internet-based archives of diplomatic, military, and government secrets. Aiming at maintaining transparency and openness in media as a means to strengthen democracy and reduce corruption in all of a society's institutions, Wikileaks at the same time relies on secrecy to protect the anonymity of the source of information that enters the digital archives of the website.²

The aim of this chapter is to investigate performative aspects in archives of secrecy. The myth of the archive perceives archives as containing enduring materials, as structuring stable narratives, and as sustaining power. The art project described in the following pages deploys this dimension of power by deconstructing the stabilizing factor of the archival process and by emphasizing the archival process itself as performance. Secrets are revealed, but in a manner that underscores archival acts as hidden and stored away. The archive comes to serve political and social ends by drawing attention to patterns of behaviour that are otherwise invisible in society. Drawing upon concepts of secrets, performance, and archives, I will discuss how the remains of ephemeral and concealed practices of family life are being transformed into a stable and aesthetic archive as a political gesture, and how the intruding visitor is both performing and being performed by the archive.

My point of departure is the ongoing art project entitled *Bones in*

Tansu—Family Secrets by the contemporary Japan-based artist Yoshiko Shimada. The project contains three distinct elements when displayed as an installation in an art gallery.

Figure 1 Yoshiko Shimada, *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets* (2004–on-going), installation at Galleri Christina Wilson, Copenhagen, 2008.



One part is a *tansu*, a traditional Japanese chest of drawers made of wood, which in this case is attached on the wall to the left. Audiences in the art gallery—invited to open the drawers of the *tansu* and look inside—will find a “family secret”: a written statement made by a previous visitor, and later rewritten, anonymized, and embodied within a print work made by Shimada along with images or objects. Another part of the display is a writing table and a stool hidden behind a curtain, seen in this image on the righthand side. Visitors are invited to enter the curtains and write their own family secret on a piece of paper. The third part of the installation is a box into which individual visitors can put the piece of paper containing their family secret. The artist will empty the box at regular intervals during the exhibition period and make new artworks from the statements, replacing some of the artworks in the *tansu* with new ones during the period of display.³

Secrets and Confessions

One of the central aspects of Shimada's art project is secrecy. According to philosopher Sissela Bok, a secret is defined as anything that is "kept intentionally hidden, set apart in the mind of its keeper as requiring concealment."⁴ Bok identifies a number of strands related to the concept of secrets that intertwine and deepen our understanding of the word, although not all of them underscore the meaning of secrecy at the same time. Secrets may be related to the sacred, the uncanny, or the mysterious, something that is defined as being set apart from the everyday, and the intrusion of which needs protection. Another strand is that of silence, the unspoken, leading also to notions of the abominable, the shameful, and the forbidden. Secrecy is often associated with being stealthy, unreliable, or furtive, but more than anything, secrecy is associated with privacy. All human beings, indeed also animals, require some kind of personal space or territory that the individual will seek to protect, and claims to privacy is related to the control of one's personal domain. Privacy and secrecy, however, should be understood as two different things, and they only overlap when the attempts to protect privacy relies on concealment.⁵

Secrecy is important to any society because it is closely linked to identity, and contributes to the formation and maintenance of human autonomy. Identity is linked to power, and power emerges from the way in which to control information flows—in this case an individual's power to give or withhold information, and to control who are included or excluded in the secret. Conversely, not to have insight into others' secrets is to lack power. Secrecy guards intimate thoughts and beliefs, memories and dreams, and protects what sociologists such as Durkheim, Goffman and others refer to as "the sacred of the self."⁶ On the other hand, secrecy can be dangerous and harmful when the freedom to choose openness or concealment for one person limits the choice of another. Secrets can fuel hatred and intolerance, and in a social context they contain a paradox of differentiation that may lead to conflict: "At the heart of secrecy lies discrimination of some form, since its essence is sifting, setting apart, drawing lines."⁷

In the case of Shimada's project, the secrets involved are defined in the artistic concept as "family secrets." The artist does not, however, ask for specific types or formats of family secrets, and there is no distinct definition of the relationship between the words "family" and "secrets." Thus, different combinations can be observed: some secrets are kept within

the family, concealed from the public outside the family members, while other secrets may be kept by one or a few individual members within the family. In Shimada's art project, the secrets reveal a broad range of topics, and many of them are related to aspects of what Bok describes as secrets of silence, those that are shameful or forbidden in a normative social context: domestic violence, sexual abuse, homosexuality, misuse of drugs and alcohol, or economic crime. Other secrets address religious and political issues, or contain issues related to gender and power. The project depends on concealment from audiences who visit the gallery: without visitors' confessions the artwork will not materialize.

When a visitor writes a family secret, a revelation takes place, but at the same time also a betrayal. Disclosing secrets take place on many different levels of social interaction. Confessions of personal secrets are seen as important to human beings, and the outlet can be found in a variety of forms, from art and social customs to religion and psychoanalyses.⁸ Topics of confessions, whether religious or secular, share the common feature of being intimate and central to a person's life. Therefore, confessions should be regarded as more than disclosing trivial matter because confessions "reveal a lack of harmony with accepted standards, and an effort to restore that harmony."⁹ In Shimada's installation, the writing desk in the gallery space where visitors are invited to sit and write their own family secret contains some references to confession booths in religious settings or a psychotherapeutic environment: the table is small, and the white curtain surrounding the table establishes a narrow and intimate space when drawn. A small desk lamp supplies dim light if the space is too dark, and provides a metaphor for enlightenment during the revelation.

Revealing a secret often involves disclosing another person's secret, hereby betraying a confidentiality and denying the other person the right to decide whether or not to reveal a personal secret.¹⁰ In Shimada's art project, the visitor is thus asked to balance the choice between restoring harmony through personal revelation and betraying the essence of secrecy by disclosing family issues to outsiders. Shimada deals with this issue at a certain level in the art project because the family secret that a visitor submits to the artwork is not displayed directly, but goes through a process of censorship and artistic rendering. When reworking the original secret, Shimada removes all personal information, deletes derogatory remarks, and replaces handwriting with other types of writing that do not reveal the original author. It is important for Shimada to stress that the

project is not a sociological investigation of family life, nor a psychoanalytic therapy. The artist regards any visitor as an essential participant and collaborator of the artwork.

Memory Work

What goes on in the process of a visitor's encounter with Shimada's art installation is a kind of memory work. By reading other people's family secret and looking at the images and objects included in the drawers, visitors may remember things from their own past that have been repressed or forgotten. They may want to follow the artist's invitation or a personal urge to write their own family secret on a piece of paper and contribute it to the artwork. As discussed thoroughly by film scholar Annette Kuhn in her book *Family Secrets*, memory work is a conscious and active process of telling a story about yourself from the past that constitutes who you are in the present.¹¹ For Kuhn, family secrets form narratives of identity within this kinship group that are based as much on what is openly told about the family as on what is omitted. Behind family ideals such as intimacy, support, and solidarity exist a number of other stories that are only told within the family, lied about, or not mentioned at all. Kuhn focuses on "memory texts," defined as cultural productions or phenomena of various types of media that contain reflected revisions of source material of memory. Memory texts form an archive from which trajectories into the collective can emerge from the personal, and connect memory with time, place, and experience. "All memory texts ... constantly call to mind the collective nature of the activity of remembering," as Kuhn notes.¹² In her art project, Shimada asks visitors to produce such memory texts, however brief, as a part of a collective archive embedded in the drawers of the *tansu*. Shimada relies on the interconnections that emerge from personal and collective remembering when audiences share family secrets with each other.

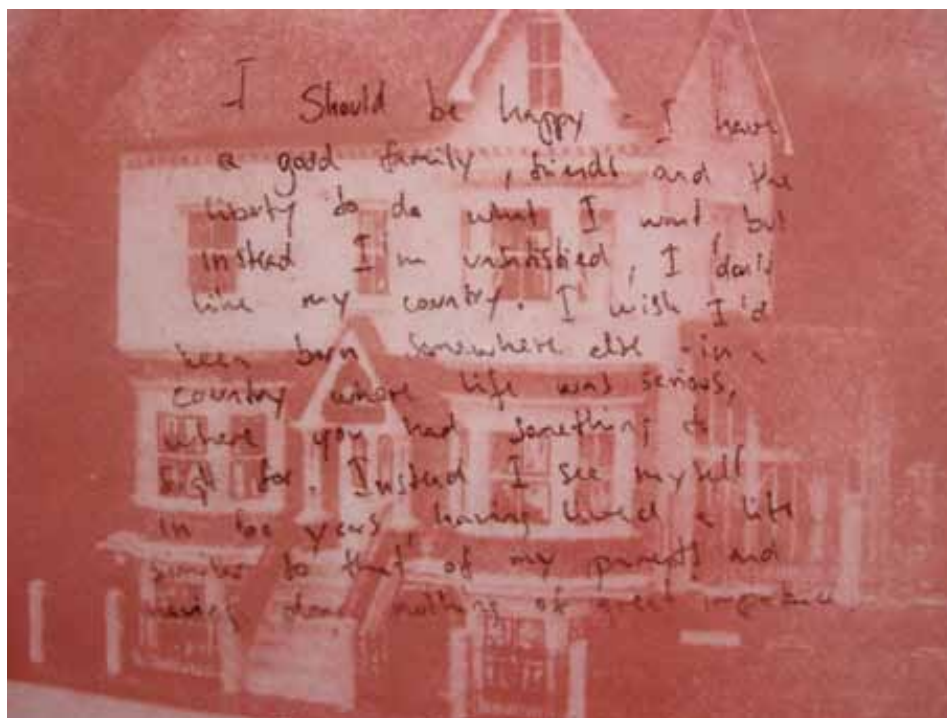
Memory work as a performative practice can emerge from any kind of resources available. Kuhn demonstrates how personal narratives may move towards broader understandings of the culture and history embedded in personal as well as public images. Photos in a family album are a good example of broader contextualization of personal resources. Kuhn points out how even private photographs are always embedded in a broader social and cultural context that inflicts the memories that arise.¹³

In Shimada's art project, the reverse process takes place because the images and objects placed in each drawer of the *tansu* have been selected, manipulated, and combined by the artist as part of her aesthetic practice. Shimada's project points to the ways in which all images are constructed in a system of visibility that is linked to broader political, economic, and historical contexts as well as to the personal and the everyday life.

Family Life

One category of secrets from Shimada's art project reflects a general view of experience and expectations of family life.

Figure 2 Yoshiko Shimada, *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets* (2004–ongoing), installation at Galleri Christina Wilson, Copenhagen, 2008.



An example of this type is the text, collected in Copenhagen in 2008, which reads: “I should be happy—I have a good family, friends, and the liberty to do what I want, but instead I’m unsatisfied, I don’t like my country. I wish I’d been born somewhere else—in a country where life was serious, where you had something to fight for. Instead I see myself in sixty years from now, having lived a life similar to that of my parents and having done nothing of great importance.” This is an example of how a

personal account contains perspectives of shared experience that question the iteration and reenactment of family life as a social norm. The secret sets in motion a process of reflection and memory work, as when Kuhn points out: “if memories are one individual’s, their associations extend far beyond the personal.”¹⁴ Existential questions may arise such as the value of certain lifestyles or what it means to commit oneself to a cause. In the drawer of the *tansu*, the secret text is superimposed on top of an image of a two-storey residential house reproduced as print in monochrome brown colours. The image of the house does not represent a house related to the visitor who wrote the secret; in fact, it is not a photo of a real house, but an image of a dollhouse taken from a toy catalogue. Thus the secret is not a memory text produced by eliciting this specific image. The image of the house refers to the text only to a certain extent: the house looks like a neat and well-kept building that supports a notion



Figure 3 Yoshiko Shimada, *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets* (2004–ongoing), installation at Galleri Christina Wilson, Copenhagen, 2008.

of a family in control, while the fence, the steep steps to the front door, as well as the heavy curtains suggest privacy and withdrawal from social interaction as referred to in the secret. Everything comes forth through the force of imagination and the activation of cultural codes. As Kuhn

points out: “memories evoked by a photo do not simply spring out of the image itself, but are generated in a network, an intertext, of discourses that shift between past and present, spectator and image, and between all these and cultural contexts, historical moments.”¹⁵

Another category of secrets reveals aspects of psychological and gender-related power relations within the family.

A secret from a collaborator in Japan reveals: “My boyfriend tried to strangle me while we were kissing. I was surprised and asked him why he’d done it. He said he just wanted to hurt me. I was most surprised, not by the fact that he did it, but by the fact that I didn’t mind it.”¹⁶ In this piece, Shimada has chosen to place the text (both in Japanese and in an English translation) in two diagonal corners of the print, and to reproduce two oblong images in the centre area. The entire print is covered with smears of red ink in uneven layers. The two images each show a detail of a face with eyes closed and mouth slightly open, placed in parallel next to each other. They connote the theme of the secret by referring to expressions of sexual ecstasy as well as to death by strangling—the head tossed backwards, the closed eyes, the open mouth. The image to the right is lifted from a photograph of the figure of Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s seventeenth-century marble sculpture known as *The Ecstasy of Saint Theresa*. This image is well known from art history books and tourist material, and discourses about the sculpture deal with the nature of the ecstasy that Saint Theresa displays—does the figure reveal platonic religious joy, or does it express sexual delight condemned in the Roman Catholic church? Since the memory text refers to issues of sexuality and desire, already a topic considered by many as private, the reference to confession in religious contexts becomes poignant.

National Secrets

We can identify the pattern of social remembering that connects the individual with the family as well as with society and nation.

A third category of the secrets in Shimada’s installation refers to historical issues, as when one Japanese participant wrote: “As my grandmother didn’t speak proper Japanese and wore only Chimachogori, we tried to hide her away when friends came to visit us.” This secret points to the Japanese colonization of the 1930s where many Koreans were forced to become naturalized Japanese and give up their Korean identity. The secret

reveals how issues of race and ethnicity have been a controversial issue in Japan ever since, and Shimada emphasises this perspective by adding textile elements from a *chimaogori*, the traditional Korean dress for women, as well as a black-and-white photo of the face of an old woman. The memory text in this work is not an account of the life of an individual



Figure 4 Yoshiko Shimada, *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets* (2004–ongoing), installation at Galleri Christina Wilson, Copenhagen, 2008.

as much as it points out how personal experience is intertwined with the social and the historical. Here too the image enacts remembering of different kinds because photos of faces of old Korean women prevailed in Japanese media in the early 1990s—and was related to the issue of *jū-gun ianfu*, “military comfort women.” As colonial subjects to Imperial Japan during the period between 1931 and 1945, women in various Asian countries were expected to perform patriotic, gendered, and often sexual labour by letting their bodies be available as a so-called “imperial gift” to Japanese soldiers.¹⁷ Stepping forward more than fifty years later, a group of elderly Korean women revealed that they had been forced to serve as sex labourers for the Japanese military during the war. Through activism and lawsuits they focus on revealing secrecy by demanding that the Japanese government admit and apologize for the atrocities, and that “all

the facts and truth about Military Sexual Slavery by Japan be recorded in the Japanese history textbook.”¹⁸ The Korean women had allegedly been forced to remain silent for decades, treating their experience as a personal shame—never revealing it, not even to close family member.¹⁹ The secret revealed by an individual about the grandmother in the family thus links to broader issues of secrecy that include memories of the nation, in particular to the colonial past connected to gendered power relations and the use of “family” as metaphor for the nation.

The Performing Archive

In her art project, Shimada relates to the aspect of archives on many levels. When a visitor encounters Shimada’s artwork in a gallery, it offers the possibility for the visitor to actually operate the archive by opening and closing the drawers, and examining the content. However, the piece of furniture in which the archive is installed is not a filing cabinet or some kind of office equipment. On the contrary, the chest of drawers has the distinct style of a piece of furniture in a private home, alluding to the enclosed space of the family as the overall theme of the artwork. The home as concept evokes a stereotypical image of private confinement, a container of secrets, as in the relations between the words for *home* and for *secret* in several European languages (German *Heim* and *heimlich*, as well as Swedish *hem* and *hemlig*). Because of the homely atmosphere of the furniture, the very act of opening a drawer is shaped by the sense of invading someone else’s private domain. In many cultures, looking into other people’s drawer or closet is an act of prying into things that the owner would like to keep out of sight. The physical archive itself in this case enacts a certain notion about privacy and points directly back to the visitor: the outsider, the intruder, the accomplice. The archive exposes the visitor’s desire to peep into hidden domains of other people, to indulge in the misfortunes of other families, or, in the case of secrets of sexual content, the archive reveals voyeuristic delight. When the artist invites the visitor to become a collaborator in the artwork, the visitor also becomes a confederate in the act of collective betrayal committed by the visitor, the artist, and other audiences. The visitor exercises power to choose different positions, to either destroy confidence through revelation, or to partake in restoring harmony by contributing his or her own secrets.

Once the visitor has overcome the first barrier of violating privacy by opening a drawer, the visitor is challenged again. The act of fulfilling curiosity is exposed to everyone in the gallery where this archive is displayed because the visitor literally has to put his or her nose into the archive to be able to see. The written statements are not easy to read because they are embedded in the artistic collage of photographic images, etchings, objects, as well as areas of colour and texture. Furthermore, the text is often handwritten, or printed in small type and indistinct colours. No one can pry into these secrets unnoticed. Visitors have to display their curiosity in public in order to satisfy it. In this manner, while visitors perform the archive by opening the drawers, the archive is performing them back by revealing in a public context what is conceived to be socially inappropriate behaviour.

The participatory persuasiveness of the entire art installation lies in this display of culturally informed behaviour connected to the notion of forbidden curiosity and the sense of guilt or shame that follows. The feeling of being guilty in violating private territory may impose on visitors an impulse to make up for the intrusion and return a piece of private information by submitting their own family secret to the archive. Stephanie Veigh points out the tension between anonymity and intimacy that occurs when collective consciousness comes together in Shimada's installation: "The voyeuristic viewer experiences relief in knowing that one is not alone in harbouring secrets—despite their disparate cultural origins, these secrets reveal a humanity held in common among the subtly shifting causes of shame."²⁰ The whole art project embraces a paradox because the mechanisms of exchange is framed by the fiction of "art" and takes place in the liminal space of an art gallery. For all we know, every secret in Shimada's installation may have been invented for the occasion. But it doesn't matter: even if the visitor makes up a secret that never existed in real life, it is the performance of engaging in a disclosure and a betrayal that connects the act of participation to an imaginary memory work. The contract of intimacy between each contribution as the singular unit, on the one hand, and the archive as a whole, on the other, provides for the authenticity of the content of all drawers.

Authenticity, however, does not guarantee the "truth." The memory work that takes place in Shimada's art installation is a kind of autobiography, understood as a construction of a specific narrative that is always a revised version of "reality." As Kuhn points out, memory, even before

voiced, is already a fiction, shaped as a signifying system that can produce meaning.²¹ Authenticity in Shimada's art project is not whether the story told in the secret is "true" or not, but the degree to which the secrets point towards an active practice of remembering that brings about reflections of the untold, the hidden, and the silenced. Other art projects have sought to engage audiences in sharing secrets, such as Maja Spasova, who in 2004 installed a pipe from the pier into the sea water of Stockholm, inviting anyone to tell their secrets into the pipe and down into the flowing water. Spasova collected several thousand secrets from the Swedish public and published a number of them in the book *Hemligheter* (Secrets).²² The Danish designer and artist Lene Leth Rasmussen made an art project on secrets in 1998, collecting one hundred secrets from anonymous contributors through the public library in Aarhus, and posted them on the Internet as well as on printed posters pasted across commercial billboards around town. Rasmussen conceived of her projects as a "sociological investigation" of what people consider secrets and thus "what is considered taboo in our society."²³

The Politics of Remembering

Shimada's art project is highly political. The point of reference in all these family secrets is a set of behaviours and practices embedded in social performances. These performances embody recurring practices that oppose the social norms of the particular time and place in which each family is situated. They are intangible and ephemeral in a double sense—not only as performances, but also because of their secret nature. The performances relate to collective and public memory because they point out the mechanisms of repression, they refer to power structures in gendered relationships, or they embody national and colonial history—but at the same time the performances aim to erase such memories by maintaining their intangible and ephemeral character.

The secrets in the drawers embody a number of concrete examples of living archives. They are testimonies of how social life takes place within the confines of the family as a social group, but because of the nature of inappropriate or abnormal behaviour such archives seldom become visible or manifest as part of social remembering. When Shimada invites visitors to enter the curtain and write their own family secret, the artist is asking visitors to transform a repertoire of hidden and concealed practices

of power relations, sexual abuse, social taboos, or other repressed and erased elements into a written statement—verbalized evidence that transgresses distance and works across time and space. Through the aesthetic process of Shimada's graphic additions, family secrets become archives of stable and tangible evidence of trust. In her seminal article "Performance Remains," Rebecca Schneider argues that "the archive *performs* the equation of performance with disappearance, even as it *performs* the service of 'saving'."²⁴ Shimada's project may be seen as a literal manifestation of reappearance because, as Schneider notes, performance does not disappear (as the archive expects) but may be seen as both the act of remaining *and* a means of reappearance.²⁵ The archive relates directly to the present, because, as Kuhn argues; "Remembering is clearly an activity that takes place for, as much as in, the present. Is memory then not understood better as a position or a point of view in the current moment than as an archive or a repository of bygones?"²⁶ The archive becomes not a separation but a unity of written and whispered words, of private secrets and public reappearance, of history and experience, of living flesh and bones of the archive—or, in this case, bones in *tansu*. The archive is performative through a process that reveals its own nature. Shimada's archive is a means of reappearance because the act of satisfying curiosity into private matters discloses the mechanisms of concealment and secrecy that take place in a social context. Shimada's work is a way of stabilizing forms of ephemeral social performances—not for the purpose of accepting the behaviour inherent in the secrets themselves, but to acknowledge and make visible the fact that such practices exist and influence the daily life of millions of family members around the world. Through memory work, the archive may reenact collective consciousness and empowerment, and, perhaps, in the future lead to social and political change. The way in which the archive performs the visitor back when the visitor pries into its secrets is an act of moving memory away from repositories of bygones and placing it in the here and now. It suggests that archives are always performative and always of the present.

Notes

* I wish to thank Yoshiko Shimada for sharing her thoughts and images from her art project *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets*. I would also like to thank colleagues in the Performing Archives study group for valuable feedback during the preparations of this chapter.

1 Sissela Bok, *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), pp. 2–24.

2 “What Is Wikileaks?” <http://wikileaks.ch/About.html> (accessed 3 February 2011).

3 Yoshiko Shimada started *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets* in Tokyo in 2004, and the project has since then travelled to other destinations in the world, including Korea in 2005, Manila in 2006, Chiang Mai and Yogyakarta in 2007, Copenhagen in 2008, and London as well as Hamilton in Canada in 2009. The physical and spatial appearance of the work changes from one instalment to the next, including the number of *tansu*, and the way in which the *tansu* are displayed—either standing on legs or hanging on the wall. In one case, Western-style drawers were used instead of *tansu*. By now, Shimada has collected more than 2,000 written testimonies of family secrets and has turned

about one hundred of them into graphic prints placed in the drawers of *tansu*. Email correspondence with Yoshiko Shimada, 20 May 2010.

4 Bok, *Secrets*, p. 5.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

6 Reference in Bok, *Secrets*,

p. 21, n. 8.

7 Bok, *Secrets*, p. 28.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

11 Annette Kuhn, *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination* (London: Verso, 2002 [1995]).

12 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

16 According to Shimada, such disclosure of private secrets were more common when she showed her work in Korea and Japan, while the collaborators in a Western context were more guarded about their personal information. Email correspondence with Yoshiko Shimada, 20 May 2010.

17 Chunghee Sarah Soh, “Prostitutes versus Sex Slaves: The Politics of Representing the ‘Comfort Women,’” in *Legacies of the Comfort Women of World War II*, ed. Margaret Stetz and Bonnie B.C. Oh (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001), pp. 75–76.

18 “The Korean Council Purpose,” http://www.womenandwar.net/english/menu_01.php (accessed 4 February 2011).

19 Chizuko Ueno, *Nationalism and Gender*, trans. Beverly Yamamoto (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2004), p. 71.

20 Yoshiko Shimada, *Bones in Tansu—Family Secrets* (Hamilton: The Print Studio, 2009), p. 15.

21 Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, p. 161.

22 Elisabet Haglund, “Subjektiv politik och platsens poetik” [Subjective politics and the poetics of the square], in *Plats, poetik och politik. Samtida konst i det offentliga rummet* [Square, poetics and politics. Contemporary art in public space], ed. Linda Fagerström and Elisabet Haglund (Malmö: Arena, 2010), pp. 115–33. The book *Hemligheter* (Secrets) was published by En bok för alla, in collaboration with the art space Liljevalchs konsthall, 2004.

23 Lene Leth Rasmussen, “100 hemmeligheder” [100 secrets], <http://www.leneleth.dk/hemmeligheder/index.htm> (accessed 8 February 2011).

24 Rebecca Schneider, “Performance Remains,” *Performance Research* 6, no. 2 (2001): 101–2.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

26 Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, p. 128.

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